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Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

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Volume 31, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1942

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SPRING MEETING, 1942
FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE SPRING MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, on May 9, 1942. The meeting afforded as usual a balanced program of intellectual stimulus and pleasant social intercourse. It was to some an occasion for visiting or revisiting Swarthmore College, and to more, probably, an opportunity to get acquainted with the facilities of the Friends Historical Library.

We quote the account of the meeting published in the *Friends Intelligencer* for May 23:

Friends Historical Association held its annual spring meeting at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College on Saturday afternoon, May 9th. Approximately one hundred and fifty members and guests were present.

William Wistar Comfort, President of the Association, opened the meeting, stressing the need for courses in the history of Quakerism in Friends' colleges. He then introduced John W. Nason, President of Swarthmore College, who extended a welcome and sketched the changes which have taken place at the college in the twenty years since Friends Historical Association last met at Swarthmore. Frederick B. Tolles, Librarian of the Friends Historical Library, outlined the history of the Library, which was founded in 1871 as the result of a concern felt by Anson Lapham of Skaneateles, New York, to preserve the historical records of Quakerism. He also indicated the nature of the various collections in the library and invited Friends to examine them. Anna Brinton of Pendle Hill spoke of the value of Quaker libraries to students and read some interesting accounts of women Friends in the ministry based on her own researches. Janet Whitney gave a delightful narrative of the genesis of her

most recent book, *John Woolman, American Quaker,* published this month, and recounted her experiences in collecting data for the book, both here and in England.

After the formal program was over, Friends inspected the Library from top to bottom. The special exhibits arranged for this occasion included some of the manuscripts of John Woolman's journal and other writings; the manuscript journals of Samuel Bownas, Joshua Evans, and Isaac Martin; letters and other papers of Elias Hicks; current bulletins issued by the Civilian Public Service Camps; and a series of peace statements issued by Friends in wartime from 1650 to 1942.

Chester and Abby Roberts of Swarthmore were co-chairmen of the Hospitality Committee which provided coffee and ice cream at Whittier House after the meeting.

HISTORY OF FRIENDS' MEETING LIBRARIES

By Dorothy G. Harris

THOSE who are members of the Religious Society of Friends or who have visited Friends' meetings may have noticed that almost every Friends' meeting house has its book collection or meeting library. It was this fact—the discovery in North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Indiana of meeting-house collections containing so many of the same early Quaker works showing signs of hard use—that first aroused the writer's curiosity about the origin and development of these collections.

Books in many of the collections had been carefully numbered and labeled, indicating that some of the libraries were of considerable size, and bookplates containing the regulations for their circulation were found in some of the books.

What part have these small but widely scattered meeting libraries played, and what contributions have Friends in general made to the library movement in this country?

THE HISTORY of Friends' libraries in America is a subject which may be broadly interpreted to include those non-Quaker libraries in which members of the Society have had a strong influence, those which have been founded in connection

with Friends' schools, and those which have been established by the meetings themselves for the spiritual and educational welfare of their members. All have played a part in the development of the library movement in America.

In the first group are such libraries as the Richland Library in Quakertown, Pennsylvania, founded in 1789 by a committee composed largely of Friends, and supported by subscription. Its first collection included 131 volumes, consisting of religious books and other titles such as *Paradise Lost, The Spectator, Captain Cook's Voyages* and *Franklin on Electricity.*[1] It was managed by a board of directors and a librarian. This library, which was open to any who wished to subscribe, has been in existence without interruption until the present day and now contains about 5,000 volumes.

In the second group, those founded in connection with Friends' schools, are such libraries as those of Haverford and Swarthmore Colleges near Philadelphia, Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, and Guilford College in North Carolina. One of the oldest and most interesting of the school libraries is the little library of Westtown School near West Chester, Pennsylvania.

An early reference to this library has been found in a letter written home, in 1799, by a student who had been at Westtown seven months. He says: "The meeting-house is going to be divided into two parts . . . (one) part is for a Library and compting house, and for the Masters and scholars to meet in and read."[2] This library, cataloged in 1854-55, is no longer in the meeting house but in the main classroom building, and is an active and modern school library.

It is, however, with the third group, those libraries founded by the meetings themselves for the spiritual and educational welfare of the members, that this account deals. The following material results from an attempt to trace the origin of these meeting libraries and to give some idea of their distribution and development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in America.

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[1] Roberts, Clarence V., *Early Friends Families of Upper Bucks . . .*, Philadelphia, Roberts, 1925, pp. 37-45.

[2] Carter, Jessie Gidley, "Concerning School Libraries," in *The Westonian*, vol. 42 (1936, Winter-Spring, nos. 1-2), p. 3.

THE meeting library has a long history. From their beginning in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, the members of the Society of Friends have believed in education, and "it is a well established fact that George Fox and his followers recommended that Friends' Meetings in England and America should have a collection of books for the service of Truth and the use of the members." [3] It is not strange, then, to find an early effort to establish libraries in connection with the meetings. These first libraries were clearly the direct outgrowth of a need felt within the Society for books on their own religious principles and doctrines, and for some method of caring for and circulating them among the members of the meeting.

Luella Wright, in her study of the literary life of the early Friends, says: "In 1672, when the Great Pardon of Charles II gave Friends a temporary respite from persecutions, they grasped the opportunity for giving publicity to their books and tracts. . . In the American Colonies, 'books published in England and Philadelphia were subscribed to by the Monthly Meeting, and circulated among the members'." The London Yearly Meeting of 1684 "urged both Quarterly and Monthly Meetings 'to correspond with the printers here [in London], for books of Truth, and take care for the spreading of Serviceable books and papers.' In 1695 the Yearly Meeting agreed that each Quarterly Meeting should keep in a safe depository one copy of every 'newly printed book,' and that each Monthly Meeting should subscribe as the books came from the press, for two of each sort valued 'under two shillings six pence'." [4]

This movement, inaugurated in the Yearly Meeting, began to spread through the quarterly and monthly meetings of the Society in both England and America, and we find evidence of many small libraries, at first entirely religious in character, and usually lodged in the meeting house, springing up in various parts of the colonies wherever meetings were established. Only a thorough search of the minutes of all meetings of early date in

[3] Brown, Kirk, "Friends' Libraries in Maryland," in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, v. 2, no. 4 (Nov. 1905), pp. 130-131.

[4] Wright, Luella M., *The Literary Life of the Early Friends* . . . N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 80-81.

America would reveal the earliest record of a meeting library, but an article by Kirk Brown on Friends' libraries in Maryland throws some light on the subject.

Maryland

He states that as early as 1658 there is a record of Friends in Maryland. When George Fox arrived in America in 1672, he landed at the mouth of the Patuxent River in Maryland. Going to West River, he helped Friends there to establish a Meeting for Discipline on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay, and soon afterward Third Haven Meeting, on the eastern shore, was established. Ten years after the founding, the minutes of West River Meeting say: "At a Quarterly Meeting, held at Ann Chews, the 6th day of 5th mo., 1682:—

" 'There being a parcel of books sent from England for ye publick service, this Meeting chose Edward Talbott and Solomon Sparrow to divide them amongst ye Meetings of friends att ye Western Shore, ye half of them being sent for ye use of ffriends att ye Eastern Shore'." [5]

In the same State, in 1850, we find a library in connection with Little Falls Monthly Meeting. Its carefully worked-out set of regulations indicates the development of the meeting library and the extent to which Friends valued their books in this period:

Rules. The borrower of this book is permitted to have it four weeks, and if it is desired to keep it longer, it may be renewed, for another four weeks by application to the librarian. For every week the book is detained beyond the specified time, the borrower is required to pay six and a quarter cents, to be applied to the enlargement of the library.

No one is permitted to take more than one book out of the library at a time, unless the volume belongs to a set.

If a book be lost or injured, the borrower is required to replace it or pay the value of it.

Persons not Friends are permitted to have the privilege of the library, provided they are introduced by a Friend.

All fines to be paid to the librarian. The person who has

[5] Brown, Kirk. *op. cit.*, pp. 130-132.

lost or injured a book, not to take out another, until the value be paid.[6]

Pennsylvania

In Philadelphia, where the establishment of printing houses and the importation of English books were stimulating factors in the establishment of private as well as meeting libraries, Thomas Chalkley bequeathed to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, in 1741, his library of one hundred and eleven books. This became the nucleus of the Monthly Meeting Library, and Robert Jordan, a minister of the meeting, offered his services as librarian.

At Robert Jordan's death, Anthony Benezet, the great French Quaker and antislavery worker, was asked to take charge of the collection. He removed the books to his home until the meeting house at Fourth and Chestnut Streets could be completed. In 1811 the library was moved again to the new meeting house on Arch (then Mulberry) Street. During this period the collection had been greatly enlarged through purchases, donations, and bequests from such men as John Pemberton and David Barclay (grandson of Robert Barclay, the Apologist).[7]

In 1886 a special building at 142 North Sixteenth Street was erected to accommodate the library, and it became known as the Friends' Library. For many years it was the finest collection of Quaker books in the country. It contained books on religion, science, travel, poetry, and biography, and it was open to the general public. In its most active period it was managed by a committee of twelve members, appointed by the three monthly meetings of Philadelphia.[8]

After 188 years of service, the Friends' Library was closed in 1929, and all books except those used by the adjacent Friends'

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[6] Dunlap, William C., *Quaker Education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings . . .*, Philadelphia 1936, p. 86, quoted from Minutes of Little Falls Monthly Meeting, 10/XI/1815.

[7] *The Friend* (Philadelphia), vol. 4, p. 230 (Fourth month 30, 1831).

[8] *List of Organizations Managed Wholly or in Part by Members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting . . .* Philadelphia, 1897, p. 10.

school were distributed to the Friends' colleges where they would be more accessible to those most interested in them.

In Germantown, a library was founded by Germantown Preparative Meeting in 1874. This library, supported by voluntary subscription, contributions from the Meeting, and endowment funds, has been and is today a very active institution. For many years it was the only library in Germantown free to the public. It is managed by a committee of Germantown Meeting, limits itself to nonfiction, and has developed a book collection of over 39,000 carefully selected titles.[9] It is now known as the Friends' Free Library, Germantown.

Not only in the vicinity of Quaker centers such as Philadelphia, but also in outlying settlements, meeting libraries were established wherever meetings were set up.

Virginia

Dunlap, in his study of Quaker education in Baltimore and Virginia Yearly Meetings, states that within these two yearly meetings "from a very early date the superior meetings were diligent in their efforts to establish libraries in the lower meetings. It provided a stimulus that led to the establishment of Monthly Meeting Schools." The following minute from the records of Hopewell Meeting in Virginia in 1766 indicates the existence of a book collection at that time:

> This meeting appoints Jonathan Parkins to take care that such Books as belong to the Monthly Meeting may be brought monthly in order that such books may circulate in a more regular manner amongst the members of the Monthly Meeting.[10]

Hopewell Meeting continued to maintain its library, and one hundred years later the minutes record that the bookcase is too small to hold the books and that a new one is recommended. It is also decided that "an efficient Librarian be appointed whose duty it shall be to keep a record of all books received and also all loaned out and to whom they have been loaned, and to see that but one book is taken out by the same person at the same

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[10] Dunlap, William C., *op. cit.*, p. 116, quoted from Minutes of Hopewell Monthly Meeting, 7/III/1866.

time, and that no book is kept out more than one month at a time, but that they may be permitted to renew the loan for one month longer." [11]

New Jersey

Many meetings in the State of New Jersey record meeting libraries, most of which had a book committee and librarian to care for the books and their circulation. Woodbury Meeting, founded in 1789, prepared several catalogs of its books, and great care was taken to keep the collection in order. Thomas Woody says: "Modern Librarians would not be expected to show more persistence in following delinquent borrowers of books than did Samuel Mickle of Woodbury." A letter written by him to a Friend at Evesham, in 1824, and found among some papers in the Woodbury Schoolhouse cupboard, says:

If our Friend Esther Ballenger may be at Evesham, she will enquire for Samuel Inskeep, and get Barclay's Apology, which he hath had in his possession perhaps 25 years or more, she will greatly oblige the Preparative Meeting of Woodbury and particularly

S. Mickle.[12]

A gradual broadening of the scope of the meeting library is seen in the early part of the nineteenth century. At Alloways Creek, New Jersey, where a collection in 1860 shows over 125 volumes, most of them dealing with Friends and their history, others such as *Farmers Instruction, Young Chemist, Parley's Columbus, Life in the Insect World,* and *Ocean Work* are included.[13]

North Carolina

The question of monthly-meeting libraries was first agitated in North Carolina, according to Stephen B. Weeks, in 1829, when

. . . we find that the 'Meeting for Sufferings being brought under exercise on account of the great want . . . of books of

[11] *Hopewell Friends History* . . . Strasburg, Virginia, Joint Committee of Hopewell Friends, [c. 1936] p. 160.

[12] Woody, Thomas, *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey,* Philadelphia, Woody, 1923, p. 336.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 135.

information on the principles and doctrines of the Society of Friends, proposes a plan by which each of the monthly meetings, within our borders, may be supplied with a suitable library of books.' As a result of this conference, a committee was appointed to correspond with the Meeting for Sufferings in regard to the character of books and terms; such as had suitable books were requested to donate them to the libraries, and those who had no books to give, were requested to subscribe liberally to the book fund; each monthly meeting was to send to the Meeting for Sufferings a list of the books it had, a list of those it wanted, and to make an annual report to the same; the Meeting for Sufferings was to supervise the purchase and to send to the monthly meetings lists of suitable books. . .

There was another general effort for libraries in 1836; in that year 60 pounds was received from England for books.[14]

Indiana

In 1829, Indiana Yearly Meeting took steps to establish libraries in each of its monthly meetings, with the definite purpose of placing opportunities for self-education within reach of all the members of the Society in that State. Encouraging the acquisition of good books and guarding against those of doubtful character, Friends endeavored to maintain a high standard of book selection in these meeting libraries.

New York

In the same year, 1829, a committee consisting of three or more members from each quarterly meeting of New York Yearly Meeting was appointed to consider the subject introduced by the Meeting for Sufferings, of devising a plan for each of the New York Preparative Meetings to become supplied with a suitable library.

Iowa

Of Friends' meeting libraries in Iowa, Louis Jones says: "As early as 1839 the Salem Monthly Meeting received from the Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, Indiana, eighty-eight volumes, including eighteen titles. Such gifts continued from time to time to such an extent that the Salem meeting divided its library in

[14] Weeks, Stephen B., *Southern Quakers and Slavery,* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1896, p. 299.

1842 with the meetings in Cedar Creek and Pleasant Plain." There were many similar instances of the interest of Friends in the East and in England in helping the western settlements to build up meeting collections.[15]

New England

By 1835, Friends on the island of Nantucket had a well established library of 139 books in their meeting house, several of which can be seen today in the collection of the Nantucket Historical Association. In spite of the persecution of the early Friends who arrived in New England in 1656, the sect continued to grow and the "Minutes of meetings show that the distribution of Quaker literature became a regular activity of the organization." [16]

EVIDENCE that the custom of having Friends' meeting libraries was encouraged from England, is to be found in the parallel movement for their establishment there. An epistle issued by London Yearly Meeting in 1828 lists fifty-four titles available for distribution to meeting libraries, stating that:

> This Meeting agrees that Monthly Meetings may furnish their Libraries, or those of their particular Meetings, at prime cost, out of its stock; and it is recommended that suitable measures be taken, for promoting the establishment and proper use of Libraries, within the respective Monthly Meetings, where that is not already done. . . . the Quarterly Meetings are recommended to take measures for completing the Libraries within their several Monthly Meetings. . . .
>
> This Meeting further directs the several Quarterly Meetings to report to the next Yearly Meeting, whether they have paid due attention to the subject.

That such steps had already been taken by many English meetings at an earlier date is indicated by the number of printed catalogs issued by preparative, monthly, and quarterly meetings

[15] Jones, Louis Thomas, *The Quakers of Iowa,* Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914, pp. 277, 336.

[16] Klain, Zora, *Educational Activities of New England Quakers,* Philadelphia 1928, p. 4.

before 1828. A list of these catalogs, one issued as early as 1794, appears in Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books,* and includes such titles as *"A Catalogue of Books, belonging to the Friends of Sheffield Meeting, for the perusal of members of the Society and others, free of expence.* Sheffield: Printed by J. Montgomery . . . 1805." [17]

The nucleus of meeting collections in both England and America was composed of standard Quaker works, and their character is best indicated by a list of books most commonly found in meeting libraries, compiled by Thomas Woody from the records of eighteen American meetings and London Yearly Meeting:

Banks. *Journal, Life and Travels.*
Barclay. *Anarchy of the Ranters.*
Bathurst. *Truth Vindicated.*
Benezet. *Account of the Friends On the Keeping of Slaves.*
Churchman. *Journal.*
Claridge. *Posthumous works.*
Crisp. *Epistles of Stephen Crisp.*
Davis. *Journal.*
Edmundson. *Journal.*
Elwood. *Works.*
Fothergill. *Journal.*
Fox. *Journal.*
Fuller. *Catechism.*
Hall. *A Mite into the Treasury.*
Holme. *A Serious Call in Christian love to all people.*
Keith. *Way to the City of God.*
London Yearly Meeting's Epistles.
Penn. *No Cross, No Crown.*
Rise and Progress of Quakers.
Travels in Germany. [Probably Penn's *An Account of . . . Travels in Holland and Germany.*]
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's Epistles.
Richardson. *Life of John Richardson.*
Sewel. *History of Friends.*
Scott. *Journal.*
Spaulding. *Reason for leaving the National Mode of Worship*
Stanton. *Journal.*
Treatises on Tythes.
Treatises on *Reasons for silent waiting.*

[17] Smith, Joseph, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books . . .* London, Joseph Smith, 1867, vol. 1, pp. 383-390.

Turford. *Grounds of an Holy Life.*
Woolman. *Journal.*

Of the educational value of these collections, Thomas Woody says: "Besides the books . . . known to have been concerned directly with schools, there were innumerable others which were printed by Friends and circulated at their suggestion among all the meetings . . . many of them, though not found thus stated, may have been used in instruction. They were at least of educational importance to the communities that read them. They are mentioned in the minutes of every meeting." [18]

IT IS thus evident from the records left by the Society of Friends that the movement for meeting libraries was started in England and spread during the eighteenth century through the quarterly and monthly meetings in the American colonies, receiving new impetus there in 1829 and 1836.

At first entirely religious in character, they gradually broadened their scope, and became centers of educational as well as religious influence. These small groups of books sent in the beginning from London and planted in the meetings among the early Quaker colonists could not but have had profound influence on the lives and reading habits of the people, many of whom in frontier settlements had few books of their own. Though the collections were small they were widely distributed and highly valued by the meetings, as is shown by the careful records kept and regulations made for their handling.

Out of some of these early Friends' libraries have developed several large and valuable collections which have in time been made available to the general public, and which have made distinct cultural contributions to the communities they serve. Whether or not these early experiments in the organized circulation of books may have contributed to the development of modern methods, the meeting collections were certainly a real factor in building up an appreciation of good reading. In establishing libraries for "the service of Truth," then, Friends have played their part in the development of the library movement in America.

[18] Woody, Thomas, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania . . .*, N. Y. Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920, pp. 199-200.

THE TEXT-BOOK ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA

By Howard T. Lutz

THE FIRST HALF of the nineteenth century saw a decided quickening of the reform and humanitarian movements in the Society of Friends. Springing from the deep conviction that each individual possessed inside himself some small part of God, the concerns of Friends arose wherever this divine-human relationship was being violated. The movements for prison reform in England, for abolition of the cruelty and injustice of slavery, and for fairer treatment of the Indians in America, were largely the work of men driven by the inexorable Quaker conscience.

Of all the testimonies that Friends have held, the one of most lasting significance, perhaps, has been the peace testimony. From the day when George Fox turned down a captaincy in the Parliamentary army to the present, war has been for Friends the supreme violation of that of God in every man. During this period of reform there was something of a change in the Quaker attitude toward the peace testimony. The negative idea that they should keep themselves wholly apart from wars and fightings began to be transformed into a positive attempt to eliminate the causes of conflict. The seeds of war in poverty, oppression, and misunderstanding must be removed, if the violence growing out of them was ever to be checked.

One of the most difficult obstacles in the path of the peace movement was the inherent belligerency of the average nineteenth-century American. Generous and noble though he might be, his opinions upon matters of foreign policy were highly colored by prejudices too frequently looked upon as patriotism. The words "British" or "Mexican" called up visions of oppression and tyranny, reminding men of the Boston Massacre and the Alamo. The intensity of these prejudices placed added strain on our relationships with Great Britain, so that we were close to war on several occasions between 1830 and 1900.[1]

[1] L. M. Hacker and B. B. Kendrick, *The United States Since 1865*, New York 1932, p. 110.

Such ill will toward other nations can hardly be traced to a single origin. It was too involved in the American life and thought for that. But about the source of the animosity there can be no doubt. The textbooks from which boys and girls studied history were designed to perpetuate the bitterness of 1775, 1812, and 1846, and they accomplished their purpose well. Witnesses to this are plentiful. For example, Josiah W. Leeds, a Philadelphia Friend of a half century or more ago, has left a vivid account of the spirit of history study in his boyhood. Telling of the glorification of battles and enemy losses, he declared, "It is not using too forcible an expression to say that there was begotten in our youthful minds something of the malignant sentiment of murderers." [2]

However, the warlike tone of the textbooks was not their only fault. They were inadequate in many other respects. Seldom were they written by scholars, and most were the products of literary hacks prepared to take any sort of writing job to earn their living. Imagination and a good store of anecdotes were substituted for real training.

To such a writer, the preparation of a school book in American history was an easy task. Details aside, the general formula was quite unvarying. Say nothing about the physical features of the continent, but extol the virtues of the noble Indian; dwell on the brilliant intellect, the undaunted courage, and the magnificent faith of Columbus, the hardships of the Pilgrims, the grim sternness of the Puritans, the simplicity of the Quakers, and the quaintness of the Dutch; show how the Revolution was due solely to the brutal tyranny of the British, and how Washington and Franklin had, in supreme degree, all the virtues ever exhibited by men in their respective spheres, and not a single fault; characterize the Constitution as "the greatest product of the human mind," but avoid much reference to it after its adoption; cut up the period after 1789 into four-year morsels and give to the mastication of each about the same amount of space; dwell on the enormities of England after the peace of 1783, and the glorious victories of the War of 1812, not omitting mention of Jackson's cotton bales or Perry's green-timber fleet; show what a lovely thing the era of good feeling was, and how the

[2] Josiah W. Leeds, *A History of the United States of America,* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1877, Prefatory Note.

South went all wrong about nullification, slavery, and the Civil War; add in an appendix the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and a list of Presidents; and then enliven the whole by a profusion of fancy pictures, including "Washington Crossing the Delaware," "Winter at Valley Forge," "An Emigrant Train," and "Welcome, Englishmen!"—and you had a book admirably adapted to the training of citizens and patriots.[3]

How unsatisfactory such texts were to Friends can be easily imagined. Not only were they producing a spirit of malice, but they failed to provide the useful information which would enable students to gain a real understanding of the development of their country.

In 1866, as a result of the concern of Alfred Cope, a Quaker ship owner of Philadelphia, an organization was created to improve the quality and attitude of history textbooks. On June 7, a group of Friends formed the Text-Book Association of Philadelphia and accepted an offer of two thousand dollars from Alfred Cope to carry out the concern. The purpose of the Association, which was to be composed solely of Friends, was outlined in a letter from the donor. Efforts were to be made to procure suitable texts in American, English, and European history besides a general outline of world history. "The main object of the gift," wrote the benefactor, "is to obtain books, which, although they may not directly condemn war, shall so treat the subject as to bring out its evil features in bold relief, and avoid all glorification of warlike achievements and character; while at the same time, the benefits which Providence has in mercy allowed to follow some wars should be frankly stated, and the talents and services of eminent statesmen and warriors not denied." In the history of the United States, another object was to present a more truthful account of the treatment of the Indians. "To correct the misrepresentations respecting Friends both in America and English history" was a third purpose of the gift. It was not, however, to produce books of a "censorious spirit" or with "geographical or sectarian prejudices." Although they were to be wholly in accord with Friends' principles, they should not appear as Quaker publications, nor need the author be a Friend.

[3] "Text-Books in American History," *Educational Review,* vol. 16 (1898), p. 483-84.

The aim was summed up in the sentence: "Sound moral and political truths are to be maintained, national errors or crimes held up as warnings, and virtuous actions set in an attractive light." [4]

In the autumn of 1866 the Association put out a circular outlining their aims and calling for a writer. A notice was placed in the *Nation* and a number of educational periodicals to the same effect. But no response was forthcoming. In 1868 Daniel B. Smith, formerly of the Haverford College faculty and a member of the Association, began the composition of an American history. His work progressed very slowly, for by 1874 he had completed it only as far as the end of the colonial period. Being then 82, he was unwilling to finish the task. This disappointment brought doubts to the mind of many members concerning the possibility of realizing their aim and a committee was appointed "to consider and inquire whether there is any practicable means of advancing the object of this association."

Two years later Josiah W. Leeds offered a manuscript history he had written along lines similar to those of the Association. His book was found to be much closer to the ideal than other texts, but had several serious shortcomings. Besides lacking proportion in its material, it was so outspoken on the peace subject that they feared it would not be adopted into school use. Recommending revision, they wrote to him: "Our view had been that the book should be rather negatively than positively a peace book, slighting descriptions of military exploits, enlarging on acts of peace, and bringing to light the philosophical causes which lie at the root of the nation's life and growth." [5] Since the author did not see fit to alter the work to their specifications, they decided that it would not be in line with their trust to accept it. Leeds's *History* was published independently in 1877.

The Association next approached the author and journalist, Sidney Howard Gay, and in 1881 signed a contract with him for an American history. By November 1882 Gay had completed the work but, when examined, the manuscript was found to have omitted a few important matters called for in the plan. After

[4] Minute Book of the Association, p. 7-8.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

amendment by the author, the association referred it to several educators for criticism. In 1886 E. Ginn & Company offered to publish it if certain revisions were made. Gay, however, neglected to comply and died in 1888, leaving the work undone. By this time the association was engaged in other work and little attention was paid to the failure of their first major effort and expenditure.

Two more unsuccessful attempts were made to procure text-books. Judge E. A. Thomas, of Ogden, Utah, who was sojourning in Philadelphia in 1882, agreed to write a history for "higher schools and colleges" of about 500 pages for $1000. His first installment fell so far short of the Association's requirements that they decided to give him $200 for his time and to cancel the agreement. In 1887 an arrangement was made with the Quaker journalist and historian, Howard M. Jenkins, for a history of Pennsylvania. Although the first section of his work made excellent general reading, it was not considered suited to school use. Friend Jenkins agreed to redraft the book but as late as 1891 he reported that he was not "well into the work yet, but expected to do so soon." However, nothing further was done and some six years later the Association turned elsewhere for a history of the State.

During the first twenty-two years of the Association's history five different attempts were made which resulted in as many failures and a considerable expenditure of money. Several times during the period the members became discouraged and seriously discussed terminating the trust and dissolving the Association. Not until 1888 did they undertake a venture that was at last to bear fruit. In February of that year it was suggested that Allen C. Thomas, librarian at Haverford College, and Watson W. Dewees of Westtown, both members of the Association, were willing to write a history of the United States. A contract was signed the following year and Thomas began the work. In 1892 he completed the manuscript and submitted it for approval. Meanwhile, arrangements were made by Isaac Sharpless with Heath and Company for its publication. At an estimated cost of $1500 to the Association, the book was published and put on sale in 1893. Watson Dewees's part seems to have been little more

than assistance and advice, the real work of authorship having been done by Allen Thomas.[6]

This first product of the Text-Book Association was highly successful. Albert Bushnell Hart reviewed it quite favorably in 1895, praising the author's knowledge, style, and judgment, and called special attention to the bibliography at the head of each chapter—an unusual feature in textbooks of the time.[7] The Thomas *History of the United States* was ranked among the few best books of its type by the Standing Committee on Text-Books of the New England History Teachers Association in their report in 1898.[8] The Text-Book Association sold its copyright to D. C. Heath & Company, for $3200, withdrawing their official interest in it. Thereafter the Thomas *History* went through several more editions. In 1912 the Jewish Press Publishing Company chose it for translation into Yiddish for distribution among immigrants. The English and Yiddish texts were printed on opposite pages thus enabling the reader to perfect his English as well as become acquainted with the background and spirit of his adopted home.[9]

The success of the first history encouraged Allen Thomas, and in 1895 his offer to write a history of the United States for elementary schools was readily accepted by the Association. In 1900 this book was completed and published under their auspices.

Another move was made in 1897 to discontinue the trust, but again it was decided to keep on with the work. The members felt obliged to obtain a history of England and one of Pennsylvania. For the latter task Isaac Sharpless was considered best qualified. He agreed to write a "good-sized" book without illustrations and few maps "To be used as a school reference work and also for general reading." At the same time the Association offered him $300 to aid in the distribution of his recently pub-

[6] Allen C. Thomas, Preface to *A History of the United States,* p. vi.

[7] Albert Bushnell Hart, *Educational Review,* vol. 9 (1895), p. 199.

[8] "Text-Books in American History," *Educational Review,* vol. 16, p. 502. The list of recommended textbooks is arranged alphabetically by the name of the author.

[9] Rufus M. Jones, "Allen C. Thomas," *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 94 (1921), p. 498.

lished *A Quaker Experiment in Government,* an account of early Pennsylvania which was found wholly in line with their objectives. In 1900 Sharpless's *Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History* was completed and published as Volume Two in the Lippincott Educational Series. Both these works were valuable contributtions by an eminent authority on the history of the State.

For an English history the Association again resorted to Allen C. Thomas, who agreed to do the task, and D. C. Heath & Company were found eager to publish it. In this case the copyright was not owned by the Association, their share being only financial assistance to the author. Nine years elapsed before the manuscript was ready for the press and the *History of England* appeared in 1913.

Having promoted or aided in the publication of five histories, the Association considered its trust fulfilled. In March 1909 steps were taken to liquidate the Association and discharge of all its remaining obligations. The final minute was entered Twelfth Month 10, 1912, and after forty-six years of activity the Text-Book Association of Philadelphia was brought to an end.

During this period the object of Alfred Cope's concern had been realized. In quality, textbooks in history were far superior to those of the middle nineteenth century. No longer were they the work of hacks but of experts who had a grasp of their subject as a whole. There was, moreover, a genuine respect for the truth in relating our national past—a frankness that now and again roused protests from such groups as the Grand Army of the Republic.[10] The student was now regarded as a person who might be really interested in history rather than as an automaton capable only of memorizing dates and names. Though the writers of school histories were not as forward in holding up "national errors and crimes" by way of warning as Alfred Cope might have wished, still there had been a noteworthy decrease in "the biased emphasis so often mistaken for patriotism."[11] Military affairs had not been eliminated—boys probably were as thrilled

[10] "Text-Books in American History," *Educational Review,* vol. 16 (1898), p. 489.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 485.

by descriptions of the battles of Bunker Hill and New Orleans as their fathers had been. But war was treated as only a part of the national life and had to share its former place with the political, economic, and social elements in our history. Already in 1898 a committee investigating textbook conditions could report that "The removal of the tomahawk, the musket, and the 70-gun frigate from the chief places in our national synagogue is an advance step for which teachers and the thoughtful public may well be grateful." [12]

Of course, it would be absurd to claim that the Text-Book Association of Philadelphia was solely responsible for this admirable change. In reality, it took only a small part in a considerably larger movement. But it is significant, nonetheless, that the Quaker conscience should have so far anticipated what was to become a general trend.

As one reads over the records of the Association, one easily grows impatient at the leisureliness with which these men went about their work. It seemed to take them so long to accomplish anything. But perhaps one must give them credit, in this regard, for sound judgment. They were unwilling to compromise their trust in order to obtain rapid, but partial, results. This was shown in their rejection of Josiah Leeds's manuscript as well as in their caution in respect to Sidney Howard Gay's work. On the whole, however, it may be truthfully said that they fulfilled their trust most adequately.

As time has moved on we no longer have reason to be distressed because our school histories inculcate in the future citizenry "something of the malignant sentiment of murderers." Textbooks have remained a subject of public interest, for they play a decisive part in the perpetuation and direction of our democratic ideals. Thus we owe a debt to those with respect for truth and insight into the underlying currents of our civilization who labored for the reform of the deplorable conditions of history texts in the last century. Through their efforts in this field, the members of the Text-Book Association of Philadelphia made a notable contribution to the cause of peace.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 489.

Publications
Promoted or Aided by the Text-Book Association

A History of the United States, by Allen C. Thomas, Boston, D. C. Heath & Company, 1893. Several later editions.

A Quaker Experiment in Government, by Isaac Sharpless, Philadelphia, A. J. Ferris & Company, 1898.

Elementary History of the United States, by Allen C. Thomas, Boston, D. C. Heath & Company, 1900.

Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History, by Isaac Sharpless, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1900.

A History of England, by Allen C. Thomas, Philadelphia, D. C. Heath & Company, 1913.

Officers and Members of the Text-Book Association

Secretary

Joseph Walton.....1866-1880
Phillip C. Garrett.....1880-1884
John H. Dillingham....1884-1910
George Vaux, Jr. 1910-1912

Treasurer

William Evans.....1866-1881
Alexis T. Cope.....1881-1883
Phillip C. Garrett.....1884-1908
Howard Comfort 1908-1912

Members

Daniel B. Smith.....1866-1883
Charles J. Allen.....1866-1880
John E. Carter.....1866-1880
William Evans, Jr.....1866-1881
Phillip C. Garrett.....1866-1908
Benjamin Hoopes 1866-1892
Samuel Morris.....1866-
Joseph Walton.....1866-1880
James Whitall 1866-1881
Thomas K. Brown.....1880-1912
John H. Dillingham....1880-1910
Isaac Sharpless 1880-1897
Allen C. Thomas,
1881-1888, 1898-1912
Alexis T. Cope.....1881-1883
Edward L. Scull.....1881-1882
Watson W. Dewees....1883-1888
Howard Comfort 1884-1912
Charles Roberts.....1884-1902
Charles E. Gause.....1889-1912
Stanley R. Yarnall.....1898-1912

Bibliography

The chief source of the information contained in this work is the Minute Book of the Association, which is now in the vault at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, in the care of the Custodian of Records for Arch Street Yearly Meeting. In addition the following books and periodicals have been useful:

Leeds, Josiah W., *History of the United States,* Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1877.

Hacker, L. M., and Kendrick, B. B., *The United States Since 1865,* New York, F. S. Crofts & Company, 1939.

Hart, Albert Bushnell, "Review of Thomas's *History of the United States*," *Educational Review*, vol. 9 (1895), p. 199.

Jones, Rufus M., "Allen C. Thomas," *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 94 (1921), p. 497-8.

"Text-Books in American History": The report of the Standing Committee on Text-books of the New England History Teachers Association. *Educational Review*, vol. 16 (1898), p. 480.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S LIST OF "BOOKS LENT"

By Frederick B. Tolles

A LEDGER in which John Woolman kept his business accounts contains a list of books which Woolman owned and lent to his friends and neighbors in Mount Holly. As a partial register of Woolman's own reading (for it may confidently be assumed that the books which Woolman owned were intended for use and not for display), and as a picture of the reading interests of a small Quaker community in the eighteenth century, the list has a double interest, and deserves reprinting in full.[1]

Probably few writers who have been admitted to the standard histories of literature have owed less to other men's books than John Woolman. Nevertheless, since no literate person can escape being influenced, albeit unconsciously, by the books he reads, it is not amiss to glance at these twenty-eight titles which formed part of John Woolman's background of reading. It will be noted at once that the titles fall into two categories: religious and edificatory works by Quakers and other mystical writers, and

[1] "Ledger B," in which the list appears, came to light too late to be of use to Amelia Mott Gummere in preparing her nearly definitive Rancocas edition of Woolman. A brief note, added while the book was in press, recorded the discovery of the ledger, and hinted at the nature of its contents: see *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman*, New York 1922, pp. 631-632. I do not find "Eusebius," which Mrs. Gummere says was included in the list. Janet Whitney, in her recent biography of Woolman, reprints the list in part: see *John Woolman, American Quaker*, Boston 1942, Appendix xxvii, pp. 478-479. Through an unfortunate misreading "Doctor Everard" appears here as "Dorton Everard."

It is impossible to date the list either from internal or external evidence. The ledger bears the date 1753 burned into the cover, but the accounts contained in it extend over a period of more than fifteen years.

books of a practical, utilitarian nature.[2] This twofold division of Woolman's reading is interesting in the light of the common observation that the Quaker character typically combines an other-worldly mysticism with a shrewd aptitude for the practical concerns of this world. John Woolman, as is well known, was driven to curtail his business lest the second trait develop at the expense of the first.

Four of the books which appear on the list belong to that branch of Quaker literature—the introspective spiritual autobiography—to which Woolman's own *Journal* was to be a notable addition. These are the journals of Elizabeth Stirredge (1634-1706), Thomas Wilson (1654?-1725), Thomas Story (1662-1742), and John Fothergill (1676-1744). The three men Friends had all traveled in the ministry in America, a fact which may have given their journals an added interest for Woolman. It is not necessary to assume that Woolman consciously modeled his *Journal* on these earlier examples; one can suggest, however, that they influenced him unconsciously in setting the pattern which his *Journal* was to follow. The three Quaker classics which appear on the list—Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*, Barclay's *Apology*, and Sewel's *History*—will occasion no surprise; these books were in almost every Quaker library in the eighteenth century. Nor is one surprised to find that Woolman's library contained works by two of the earliest of the First Publishers of Truth: William Dewsbury (1621-1688), whom

[2] The reading of two of Woolman's Quaker contemporaries and friends may appropriately be cited here for comparison. Anthony Benezet, whose interests and temperament resembled Woolman's, had a library which contained several of the titles in Woolman's list, and reflected in general the same twofold emphasis. Benezet's library, however, was considerably larger in size and wider in range, and included in particular a large number of medical works: see Henry J. Cadbury, "Anthony Benezet's Library," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, xxiii (1934), 63-75, and "More of Benezet's Library," *ibid.*, xxv (1936), 83-85. The reading of John Smith, a lifelong friend of Woolman, though somewhat more of a man of the world, embraced not only edifying and practical works but a fairly representative cross section of the reading of a cultivated colonial gentleman, including works of fiction, drama, poetry, biography, history, philosophy, and travel: see Frederick B. Tolles, "A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, lxv (1941), 300-333.

Braithwaite calls "perhaps the sweetest and wisest of the early Friends,"[3] and Francis Howgill (1618-1669), the quondam Independent preacher who said, when he first saw George Fox, that Fox could have killed him with a crab apple, the Lord's power so surprised him.[4] A polemic against the Church of England by John Jeffrys and a collection of pious verses by the early Quaker poet Mary Mollineux (1651?-1695) complete the roster of Quaker authors on Woolman's list.

Five non-Quaker mystical writers appear on the list. Their presence here is particularly interesting because it confirms what has hitherto been mere inference: that Woolman was aware of, and was no doubt influenced by, the long mystical tradition stretching back over the centuries and across the boundaries of language, nationality, and confession. Two of these mystics were Roman Catholics, two were clergymen in the Church of England, and one was nominally a Lutheran, but these outward distinctions among them were unimportant; they all spoke the same language of the spirit and they all bore witness to the same experience of the indwelling God. This was the language which Woolman understood best and this was the experience which was central in his life, for he too was a member of the great invisible confraternity of religious mystics. He read the famous *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis (1380?-1471) in the edition published in Germantown by Christopher Sower in 1749. And he read the mystical dialog called *Desiderius* written by an anonymous Spaniard and translated into English in 1717 by Laurence Howel (1664?-1720), a nonjuring Anglican divine.[5]

[3] William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* London 1912, p. 63.

[4] *The Journal of George Fox,* ed. Norman Penney, Cambridge 1911, i, 43.

[5] Judging from the number of editions, one concludes that this book enjoyed wide popularity, and yet information about its provenance and its influence is extremely difficult to come by. According to the translator's preface, "It was written originally in Spanish, but the Time uncertain. Afterwards it was translated into Italian, French, High-Dutch and Low-Dutch; and about the Year 1587, the learned Canonist F. Laurentius Surius, from the High-Dutch Version turn'd it into Latin. After him Arnoldus Vander Meer, a learned Licentiate of the Law, besides consulting the French and Dutch Copies. compar'd it with the

The sermons of John Everard (1575?-1650?), who mediated the continental mystics to seventeenth-century England, were popular reading among eighteenth-century American Friends in Christopher Sower's Germantown edition of 1757; one notes that Woolman's copy was borrowed seven times. William Law (1686-1761), the contemporary Anglican mystic, was also a favorite author with John Woolman's generation of Friends. It is especially interesting to find Woolman possessing the works of Jakob Boehme (1575-1624), the powerful German mystic, for there is strong circumstantial evidence that Boehme also influenced George Fox.[6] Until further evidence is adduced, these five writers, together with Fénelon, the French Quietist,[7] may perhaps be postulated as the major mystical influences on Woolman's religious development from outside the Quaker tradition.

The presence on Woolman's list of three other books of an edifying or devotional character by authors who were not Quakers should effectively dispose of the widely held notion that the

Original, and translated it into Latin. The last was Antonius Boetzer, who in the year 1617. from all the other Copies publish'd a correct Edition of it in Latin at Collein. The Author's Name was unknown to any of the Editors. . . . The several Editions had different Titles, some call'd it the Treasure of Devotion, others the Compendious Way to Salvation. . . ." The translator states that this "is not the first Time this Book has appear'd in English; tho' very much disguis'd;" and he charges that Bishop Simon Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim* (1664) was plagiarized from it (Preface to *Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim,* London 1717, pp. iii-v).

One suspects that *Desiderius* was a popular devotional work among Friends. John Smith, for example, read it (Tolles, "A Literary Quaker," p. 302). Incidentally, the present writer's desperate guess *(loc. cit.)* that "Desiderius" might have referred to Erasmus appears to have been wide of the mark.

[6] Woolman's copy of Boehme in Edward Taylor's edition is in the Haverford College Library. His signature, with the date 1747, appears on page 218. See *Quakeriana Notes,* No. 7 (Autumn 1936), p. 6. For Boehme's influence on the founder of Quakerism see Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries,* London 1928, pp. 220-227.

[7] See A. M. Gummere, ed., *Journal and Essays of John Woolman,* p. 15, for a brief discussion of Fénelon's influence.

eighteenth-century Quaker read only the Bible and Friends' books. The *Practical Discourse Concerning Death* of William Sherlock (1641?-1707), nonjuring divine of the Church of England, was universally read and appreciated by Woolman's Quaker contemporaries as a highly improving devotional work, and Woolman undoubtedly relished its lugubrious periods. The *Oeconomy of Human Life,* which also appears on the list, was generally supposed in Woolman's time to be the work of the worldly and cynical Earl of Chesterfield; it was actually written, however, by Robert Dodsley (1703-1764), a prolific Grub Street hack. It was a collection of moral aphorisms, couched in pseudo-Biblical language, and purported to be a translation from an Indian manuscript written by an ancient Brahmin. The long didactic poem *Creation,* a dull imitation of Lucretius by Sir Richard Blackmore (1650?-1729), approaches the category of *belles lettres* more nearly than any other title on the list; but it was probably read by Woolman and his friends for edification rather than for esthetic pleasure.

One is rather surprised at first glance to find *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke (1632-1704) among the books in Woolman's library, for although the pervasive influence of Locke's philosophical and political ideas in eighteenth-century America is well established, less evidence has been found in the colonies of familiarity with his novel educational theories.[8] Upon consideration, however, it seems quite natural that John Woolman and his sister Rachel should have been attracted to this book, for Locke's theories, considered heretical by the orthodox educators of his day, accorded well with Quaker principles of education. He believed that the teacher's first task was to create character. In the curriculum he emphasized the study of geography, history, and anatomy as substitutes for the more conventional logic and rhetoric; he would have English studied as thoroughly as Latin, and Greek he would omit entirely. Perhaps Woolman the schoolmaster based his educational philosophy in part upon this advanced treatise by one of England's greatest philosophers.

[8] Merle Curti, "The Great Mr. Locke: America's Philosopher, 1783-1861," in *The Huntington Library Bulletin,* xi (1937), 111.

Little need be said about the utilitarian manuals which were found on Woolman's shelves as on those of all his contemporaries. "Worlidge on Cyder" and "Every Man [His] Own Lawyer" remind us that he was a practical man, and that much of his life was lived perforce on the plane of everyday existence as a farmer and a business man.

Woolman's little collection of books seems to have served as a circulating library for members of his family and his neighbors in Mount Holly. The names of his brothers Abner, Uriah, Abraham, and Jonah, his sister Rachel, and his brothers-in-law Joseph Moore and Samuel Gauntt appear on the list as borrowers of books. Most of the other borrowers can be identified as neighbors. Josiah White, for example, was a close friend of the Woolman family, the proprietor of a fulling mill in the neighborhood, and a fellow minister of Mount Holly meeting. John Sleeper was a Mount Holly carpenter who on at least one occasion accompanied Woolman on his travels in the ministry. "Negro William," who borrowed Barclay's *Apology,* was undoubtedly William Boen, a slave who was convinced by John Woolman and who was married by Friends' ceremony, although not admitted as a member of Mount Holly meeting till later.[9]

Woolman's "Ledger B" is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by whose permission the list of "Books Lent" is here reprinted. The list is copied *verbatim et literatim* from pages 219½ and 220 of the ledger. In the footnotes I have attempted to identify the titles appearing in the list. The date of the first English edition is given wherever possible, and if there was also an American edition that fact is indicated. Several of the titles were lent more than once; but the footnote reference is the same in each case, so that in the list the numbers are not in numerical order after 10. The manuscript makes it clear that as a rule the word "returned" was set down later than the preceding part of the entry—as indeed would be expected; and this interval of time is indicated by a space, which is usually not present in the original.

[9] See A. M. Gummere, ed., *Journal and Essays of John Woolman,* pp. 83-84; and, for a more imaginative account of Boen's wedding, Janet Whitney, *John Woolman,* pp. 351-354.

I should like here to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered by Henry J. Cadbury of Harvard University and by Judith Sachs of the Swarthmore College Library in identifying the titles.

Books Lent	To	
T. Willson Journal [1]	Jonah Woolman	returnd
Every Man own Lawyer [2]	Jno Abbot	gave another for it
Oeconomy of Human Life [3]	to Marget	return'd
Eliz Sterredge [4]	to Edmund — - - - -	returnd
Fothergills Journal [5]	John Ridgway	returnd
Blackmore on ye Creation [6]	Gamal[l] Shinn	returnd
No Cross no Crown [7]	to Richd Cox —	returned
Locke on Education: [8]	to Rachel Woolman	returnd
Cristian perfection [9]	to Joseph Cox —	returnd
Grounds of Regeneration [10]	Jno Sleeper	returnd
no Cross no Crown [7]	Thos Walling - - -	returnd

1. *A Brief Journal of the Life, Travels and Labours of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Thomas Wilson . . .*, Dublin 1728.

2. Giles Jacob, *Every Man His Own Lawyer; or, A Summary of the Laws of England,* London 1736.

3. Robert Dodsley, *The Oeconomy of Human Life,* London 1750 (Philadelphia 1751).

4. *Strength in Weakness Manifest: in the Life, Various Trials, and Christian Testimony of that Faithful Servant and Handmaid of the Lord, Elizabeth Stirredge . . . Written by Her Own Hand,* London 1711 (Philadelphia 1726).

5. *An Account of the Life and Travels in the Work of the Ministry, of John Fothergill,* London 1753 (Philadelphia 1754).

6. Sir Richard Blackmore, *Creation: A Philosophical Poem, in Seven Books,* London 1712.

7. William Penn, *No Cross, No Crown,* London 1669 (Boston 1747).

8. John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education,* London 1693.

9. Undoubtedly either William Law, *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection,* London 1726; or *The Plain Path to Christian Perfection,* trans. from French by Anthony Benezet, Philadelphia 1758.

10. William Law, *The Grounds and Reasons of Christian Regeneration; or, The New Birth, Offered to the Consideration of Christians and Deists,* London 1739 (Philadelphia 1741).

Life of Stiridge [4] to Lydia Tilton - - -	return[d]
Doctor Everard [11] Abram Woolman	return[d]
John Jeffreys [12] to Haran [?] Brian	returned
Grounds Regeneration [10] Mehetable Shin	return[d]
Story[s] Journal [13] Mary Reynalds —	return[d]
Christian perfection [9] Mehetable Shinn	return[d]
Christ[n] perfection [9] to Hanah White —	returned
Worlidge on Cyder [14] Abram Woolman	returned
merch[t] pocket book [15] John Sleeper	return[d]
W[m] Duesburry [16] to Abner Woolman	
No Cross no Crown [7] Timo Sullivan	return[d]
Merch[ts] pocket book [15] Uriah Woolman	
Art of Navigation [17] John Burr Jun[r]	return[d]
Christ[n] perfection [9] Suse Atkinson	return[d]
Margeret Manrow Sewels history [18]	return[d]

11. John Everard, *Some Gospel Treasures Opened; or, the Holiest of All Unvailing . . . Whereunto Is Added, the Mystical Divinity of Dionysius the Areopagite,* London 1653 (Germantown 1757).

12. John Jeffrys, *A Serious Address to the People of the Church of England, in Some Observations upon Their Own Catechism, Tenderly Recommended to Their Consideration,* Dublin 1739 (Philadelphia 1753).

13. *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story: Containing an Account of His Remarkable Convincement of, and Embracing the Principles of Truth, as Held by the People Called Quakers; and also, of His Travels and Labours in the Service of the Gospel: with Many Other Occurrences and Observations,* Newcastle upon Tyne 1747.

14. John Worlidge, *Vinetum Britannicum; or, A Treatise of Cider, and Other Wines and Drinks Extracted from Fruits Growing in This Kingdom,* London 1678 (2d impression).

15. Unidentified.

16. Perhaps *The Faithful Testimony of that Antient Servant of the Lord, and Minister of the Everlasting Gospel William Dewsbery . . ,* London [1689], or *A Sermon on the Important Doctrine of Regeneration . . .,* Philadelphia [1740].

17. Probably James Atkinson, *Epitome of the Art of Navigation. . . . ,* London (many editions); or Daniel Newhouse, *The Whole Art of Navigation,* London (many editions); or a similar treatise.

18. Willem Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers, Intermixed with Several Remarkable Occurrences,* London 1722 (Philadelphia 1728).

Josiah White Francs Howgill [19] returnd
John Ridgway no cross no crown [7] returnd
John M'Cully Christian pattern [20] returnd
Devotianl tracts [21] to David Lawrence returnd
Thomas a kimpes [20] Aaron Lippint retund
art of navigation [17] Henry Burr Jun returnd
Behman [22] to Samuel Smith returnd
Barclay [23] to Martin Benhart —
Devotianal Tracts [21] J more — returnd
Blackmore [6] Martha Atkinson returnd
Desiderias [24] Mary Cloathier returnd
Sewels History [18] to John Ridgway returnd

19. Perhaps Francis Howgill's collected works published under the title *The Dawnings of the Gospel Day, and Its Light and Glory Discovered,* n.p. 1676.

20. Thomas à Kempis, *The Christian Pattern; or, The Imitation of Jesus Christ,* London 1744 (Germantown 1749).

21. Probably one of the collections of tracts assembled and published by Anthony Benezet. These collections varied in contents, but usually included pieces by non-Quaker authors like William Dell, Thomas Bromley, and Thomas Hartley, as well as Quaker tracts such as Dr. John Rutty's *Liberty of the Spirit and of the Flesh Distinguished* and Benezet's own writings. See Benezet's correspondence with John Smith regarding one such collection of devotional tracts in George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet,* Philadelphia 1937, pp. 235-239; also "A Publishing Project of Anthony Benezet," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* xvii (1928), 65-69. A careful study of Benezet's activity as a publisher and disseminator of religious tracts is still a desideratum in Quaker history and bibliography.

22. Edward Taylor, ed., *Jacob Behmen's Theosophick Philosophy Unfolded in Divers Considerations and Demonstrations. Also the Principal Treatises of the Said Author Abridged.* London 1691.

23. Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth and Preached by the People, Called in Scorn, Quakers,* n.p. 1678.

24. [El Deseoso], *Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim: A Divine Dialogue. Shewing the Most Compendious Way to Arrive at the Love of God.* Render'd into English, and Explain'd with Notes. By Laurence Howel. London 1717.

Orphans legacy [25] to John Hatkinson returnd
Edward Taylors Works [26] to John Bispham returnd
Sewel [18] to John Shinn retund
Everard [11] to thomas walling returnd
Barclays Apology [23] James Mills returnd

[At this point begins the second page of the list, marked with the folio 220, with the heading: Loan of Books Continᵈ]

Devotianal Tracts [21] James Mills returnd
Everard [11] to Samuel Gauntt returnd
Sherlock on death [27] Joseph More returnd
Sewils History [18] Mary Buzby returnd
Barclays Apology [23] Negro William returnd
Collection of Treaties [28] Josiah White returned
Francis Howgill [19] John Ridgway returnd
Everard [11] to Benjamin Jones returnd
William penn [29] to Joseph Mullen
No Cross no Crown [7] John Ridgway — returnd
M. Molenex [30] Hannah Crips returned
Barclays Apology [23] John Ridgway Eg harbor
Everard [11] to John Ridgway
Everard [11] to John Shinn returnd
Everard [11] to Joshua Gibs
Sewel [18] to Jacob Hilliar returnd
Kempis [20] to James Mills returnd
Sherlock on death [27] Mary Barton returned
Edward Taylor [26] John West returnd

25. Probably *The Poor Orphan's Legacy: Being a Short Collection of Godly Counsels and Exhortations to a Young Arising Generation. Primarily Designed by the Author for His Own Children, but Published that Others May Reap Benefit by Them.* By a Minister of the Gospel. Philadelphia: Printed by B. Franklin, 1734.

26. Probably Edward Taylor's edition of Boehme. See note 22.

27. William Sherlock, *A Practical Discourse Concerning Death,* London 1689.

28. Possibly a collection of Indian treaties. Or perhaps "Collection of Treatises" may have been intended; if so, this may be the same as "Devotional tracts" above (see note 21).

29. *No Cross, No Crown?* (see note 7).

30. Mary Mollineux, *Fruits of Retirement; or, Miscellaneous Poems, Moral and Divine,* London 1702 (Philadelphia 1729).

BOOK REVIEWS

Three Biographies of Significant American Quakers

George Keith (1638-1716), by Ethyn Williams Kirby. New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., [1942]. vii + 177 pp.; $3.00.

John Woolman, American Quaker, by Janet Whitney. Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1942. xi + 490 pp.; decorations by George Gillet Whitney, and five illustrations; $3.00.

Stephen Grellet, 1773-1855, by William Wistar Comfort. New York, Macmillan, 1942. xi + 202 pp.; portrait; $2.00.

THE YEAR 1942 has seen notable additions to Quaker hagiography—full-length biographies of three men who have had a profound influence upon Quaker life and thought. The three lives were so spaced that their stories covered the years 1638 to 1855 in an almost continuous span—Woolman was born four years after Keith's death, and died the year before Grellet was born. But though the span is almost continuous, the individual stories are strikingly individual, and the styles of narration interestingly different. *George Keith* is a detailed factual presentation; *John Woolman* is a spiritual portrait; *Stephen Grellet* is a scholarly, spirited narrative, based partly on sources not heretofore utilized, which achieves portraiture by showing its subject in action.

THE STORY of George Keith has never before been told with the completeness with which Professor Kirby presents it to us in *George Keith (1638-1716).* The general histories of Quakerism, both of England and of America, mention him as one of the significant figures of the first generation of Quakers; and the great British and American dictionaries of biography give him a page or so; but here we have a full and documented life, supplied with a full bibliography and an index. Her book, based upon primary sources, and with full references to them, will in effect be itself a source book for later students of Keith's interesting life. Its substantial quality is in some measure vouched for by the fact that it was "Prepared and published under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund."

Keith was a vigorous and able man, and if in his later years he had not turned against Quakerism he would have ranked among the greatest of the founding fathers. Born in 1638, fourteen years later than Fox and six years before Penn, and converted to Quakerism in 1650, he belonged with the first generation of Quakers; and as he was educated for the Scotch Presbyterian ministry and well trained in the classical and theological learning of the day, he was an influential figure among them, and traveled and preached and wrote and suffered imprisonment as they did, accompanying Fox, Penn, Barclay, and Benjamin

Furly, the leading Quakers of the day, on their great missionary journey in Holland and Germany in 1677. He was an effective preacher, and active as a writer on Quaker themes. Indeed, his theological training, affording a sort of contrast to Fox's mystical bent, made him rather a systematizer and organizer of the upsurging new faith than an exemplar of a new way of life.

In 1785 Keith went to America as surveyor-general of the colony of East Jersey, and at once assumed a position of prominence in the Quaker community. But the vague and simple theology of the colonial Quakers disturbed his precise mind; and being of a positive and somewhat contentious character he found himself at odds with his associates; and in 1692, as many substantial Friends agreed with Keith, the so-called Keithian schism occurred, Keith's sympathizers being called "Christian Quakers." Rejected by Philadelphia, Keith returned to England to seek for support from the London Yearly Meeting; but in vain. Here too he set up a rival meeting, and attacked and "exposed" Quakerism in pamphlets and public addresses. It was his earnest wish to save the Quakers from the charges of heresy which were often leveled at them.

But the Quakers would not be saved; and Keith gradually turned from them. In 1699 he became an agent of the Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge, an organization of the Established Church filled with missionary zeal; and in 1702 he was sent back to America, where for two years he traveled in the Colonies, attempting to make converts to Anglicanism, especially among the Quakers, and meeting with considerable success. He then returned to England, and from 1705 to the end of his life he served the Anglican Church as rector of St. Andrew's Church in Edburton, Sussex, where he continued sporadically his preaching and pamphleteering against the Quakers.

Thus Keith has a colorful and interesting career; and the simplest narrative of events of his life and an analytical bibliography of his writings would yield an interesting document. Professor Kirby has given far more than that; some attention is paid to the background, to the personalities with whom he came into contact, to the influences that swayed Keith's English and American associates. But the book does not present a living portrait of Keith himself, nor even of the Quaker movement. Keith's contentiousness and stubbornness are hardly given their proper weight; his wife, his family life, are hardly mentioned. One wonders whether it could have been written with Friendly readers in mind: the word "meeting" is enclosed in quotation marks as if it were a strange word.

Perhaps one might sum up by saying that the book is an invaluable storehouse of the external facts of Keith's life with relatively small attention to the difficult task of interpreting these facts so as to make a living character. Interpretation is always dangerous—there may be too much of the interpreter in it. We may be thankful for the basic data.

JANET WHITNEY'S life of John Woolman is in several respects a sharp contrast to the preceding. Its subject has already been treated in substantial biographies; and the book itself is nearly three times as long as Professor Kirby's on Keith, and is illustrated and provided with decorative head-pieces for each chapter. Though based on a painstaking study of original sources (some of them not heretofore known or evaluated), it fills in the story with enough interpretation to make of John Woolman a very live figure, moving naturally in a scene that is vividly and convincingly portrayed. It is written by one who is deeply immersed in the Quaker tradition and who wholeheartedly enters into the Quaker spirit of the subject of the biography; and back of the book is not only scholarship but a distinct literary grace and charm, such as we have already seen in *Elizabeth Fry* and *Jennifer*.

The prosaic "facts" of Woolman's career could be narrated in a few pages, so simple and unspectacular was his life. His childhood among the Quakers of Burlington; his young manhood with its real or fancied frivolity; his growing sense of the nearness of God, and the slow development of a social consciousness; his peaceful business and agricultural life; his few journeys in America, undertaken because of his overflowing love for men and his distress at the slave trade, the treatment accorded the Indians, and the growing luxury of the colonists; his happy family life; his journey to England, carried out, as had been his other journeys, under a religious concern; his death there of smallpox at the age of fifty-two—if a new names and dates were added, and a list of a dozen or so writings, the filling in of the headings just listed would constitute a sort of "life."

But of course such a document would have no life in it. John Woolman is not great for his external deeds and picturesque adventures, but for the penetrating intelligence of his mind, the delicate sensitiveness of his spirit, and the gentle but mighty love he bore to all living things, more especially to human beings who suffered distress because of the acts of their fellows. Such things cannot be made real by the listing of acts and kind words, or by the mere statement of refusal to use the products of slave labor, of tact in approaching all men no matter how delicate the mission, of a power to move men to see the evils of some of the accepted usages of society and to induce them to change their very lives in rejecting such evils. These things must be conveyed slowly and delicately, with gradual approach, stroke on stroke of tiny fact or telling allusion, leading up cumulatively to the complete living portrait which the author wishes to present. The interpretation, which can perhaps be dispensed with in the picturesque life of a Keith, is essential for the life of a Woolman; albeit the responsibility is heavy upon the writer not to go beyond the actual yield of her sources, but to be content with making her readers see clearly what she has actually found in her far-flung search among contemporary records.

One illustration may be given of this sound kind of "interpretation." It is in the dramatic account of Woolman's first appearance before the London Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. When he appeared at the Meeting, which had already been sitting half an hour, he was entirely unannounced; his dress appeared singular—almost repellant; and the meeting at first refused to endorse the minute of unity which he brought from his home meeting. Before the meeting closed, however, such was the simple power of his presence and of the few words he spoke, this action was reversed. Dr. John Fothergill, who had first voiced the rejection, wrote later to his brother about Woolman. "I wish he could be cured of some singularitys. But his real worth outweighs all the husk." At least that is the final version of the letter. But Janet Whitney, going to the sources and reading the original manuscript, finds that he had first written "outweighs all the trash." Her account continues:

> Then reading his letter over, his respect for Woolman made him reject that word "trash." Who, after all, was he to judge for so manifestly clear a spirit? So he crossed out the word "trash" and substituted "husk." Certainly a husk is sometimes trash; we throw it away, but it has served a necessary purpose. It has protected a kernel. This is the final evidence of Woolman's complete, unconscious conquest of the most polished and brilliant Quaker of his time.

The digging into sources, often described as "pedantic," which turns up such precious nuggets, and the imaginative "interpretation" which utilizes them so illuminatingly, are welcome in any biography.

It was not given to John Woolman to leave a monument in the form of a new society organized about a great religious idea, as did Fox; nor in the form of a clearly organized theological guide to that society, as did Barclay; nor in the form of a government based on political and religious liberty and justice to the Indians, as did Penn. He worked in less spectacular, more intimately personal ways—in ways which were likely to be lost and forgotten when the generation that knew him personally passed from the scene. His extraordinary modesty makes it difficult to reconstruct his outward life even from his Journal. But his exquisite character and the saintly manner of his daily life should not be lost to us. We of this generation—and later ones—may well be thankful that a writer has been found with the gifts in both scholarly research and constructive imagination (not always yoked), and the literary craftsmanship and grace (even rarer), which have entered into the writing of Janet Whitney's *John Woolman.*

IN THE Foreword to *Stephen Grellet,* our third biography, Grellet is spoken of as "perhaps the most influential Quaker minister and missionary of the last two centuries,"—of whom, however, there has been only one printed source of information, Benjamin Seebohm's *Memoirs,*

in two volumes, published in 1860. President Comfort was perhaps originally attracted to Grellet because of a lifetime of professional preoccupation with Grellet's native language, in which much of the source material is preserved; and has drawn upon a considerable mass of material, now in the possession of the Philadelphia Library Company, which has never been adequately sifted and utilized.

The function of a reviewer is not only to provide an estimate of a particular book for one who is interested in the subject of the book, but to catch the attention of the browsing reader who needs to be told whether the subject matter is worth his active interest at all. The present book rates high in both ways; it carries the quiet authority of the finished scholar, and is gracefully and competently written; and the story of Grellet's life bears out the impressive claim of the Foreword that he belongs in the catalog of the great Quaker saints.

Grellet was like Woolman in the clear sweetness of his spirit and in his unusual gift for making friendly approaches to all sorts and conditions of men; but he was unlike him in that he sought not only the common man but the great ones of earth. Bishops, queens, popes, and potentates are usually harder to come at than their humbler brothers and sisters; but it is well for us in these days to be reminded how far a compelling love may pierce the usual barriers and take us where we feel it right to go. On Grellet's journeys to Europe and to Haiti it seems literally that nothing stopped him. He was warmly received by King Bernadotte of Sweden, who "could hardly let us go"; by the Archbishop of Finland, then a province of Russia, where Grellet sat at a formal dinner between the Archbishop and his wife; by the Emperor Alexander of Russia, who proposed to Grellet and his traveling companion that before they separated they should "spend a short time in religious retirement together," the three thereupon holding a Friends' meeting during the course of which all three knelt together in supplication; by a social gathering of ambassadors at Constantinople; by Father Miranda, chief of the Inquisition at Rome, who gave him the unheard-of liberty of inspecting all the records and seeing all the present workings of the Inquisition; by Pope Pius VII, who "appeared tender" when Grellet exhorted him to urge his coreligionists to place Christ above the Church; by the royal households of Bavaria and Wurtemberg; and in countless contacts perhaps less striking than these but still impressive. In all these interviews, and through all his journeyings, he was not preaching Quakerism as such, nor establishing Quaker meetings, but trying to stir in the hearts of men a sense of the infinite love of God. Truly a remarkable career.

This biography is a brief, clear, highly readable account of the life of an extraordinary man. It has few footnotes, no bibliography, not even an index; but it carries the air of authority. The life is so extraordinary that the kind of interpretation exemplified in Janet Whitney's *Woolman* does not seem necessary. It is a book that could be recommended to one inter-

ested in learning about Quakerism, with confidence that the reader would be impressed with the quality both of the personalities which Quakerism has produced, and of those who act as their interpreters.

T. K. B.

Notable Women of Pennsylvania, edited by Gertrude Bosler Biddle and Sarah Dickinson Lowrie. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. xviii + 307 pp.; $3.00.

"NOTABLE Women of Pennsylvania" recently published by the University of Pennsylvania Press is a valuable contribution to Pennsylvania's history. It is a collection of short biographies of two hundred women who have had a share in the making of the State from pioneer days to those of the present time, including only those who have gone from works to reward, and is dedicated to the memory of Elizabeth Price Martin, Chairman of the High Street Committee of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of 1926. The nucleus of the volume was the "Book of Honor," a collection of biographical sketches made in 1932 by a committee of Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial Celebration and since amplified. The co-editors, Gertrude Bosler Biddle and Sarah Dickinson Lowrie, have known intimately many of the women as comrades and co-workers in public affairs. The biographies have been written by various authors—including the editors, and descendents, relatives, and friends of the subjects selected. The productions for the most part are well written and have been scrutinized by a group of historical experts. Sources are not listed, but the Foreword states that material has been gathered "from the documented records, tradition and sometimes hearsay." The reader becomes aware from the general tenor of the book that it has been made as accurate as possible. One looks immediately to see whether one's favorite patron saint is there and is gratified to find her. Far be it for any of us to choose any one of the "Notable Women" for special comment or praise.

The volume contains some facts difficult to find through any other known source. The writer of this review showed the book to a college librarian who put it into immediate use by verifying something she had been trying to trace for some time. The group of biographies is surprisingly impressive, including artists, authors, physicians, civic leaders, active workers in the Club movement, and other women in public life. Some simple retiring mothers to whom honor is always due have not been forgotten, especially those who have given birth and training to some of Pennsylvania's most eminent men and women.

By careful perusal one also learns of valuable institutions, especially in the interest of protection of women and children, and other social and welfare organizations which have been founded and sponsored by Pennsylvania's women. Some of these women have given distinguished services to the nation as well as to the State and have left us with a cultural

heritage whose influence has carried far. It would have been helpful to have had these institutions included in the index. The table of contents is well done, the type is excellent, the volume attractive, and all in all, it is a work of which we may be proud. It is of value because of the accounts of the labors and characters of our State's outstanding women, and because of the co-editors' evident and untiring efforts in making a significant phase of Pennsylvania's history appreciated and accessible for all time. It is more than a woman's "Who's Who" for this State. It is a record of lives and achievements which have formed an integral part in the progress of the State. It is the story of the women of the past who will be remembered and honored the more readily, because two loyal women of today, who themselves have made contributions to Pennsylvania's history, have recognized the importance of perpetuating the memories of the devoted women who have blazed the trail for liberal and progressive womanhood in America's great Democracy.

HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL.

Johann Conrad Beissel, by Walter C. Klein. Fifth volume of a series entitled "Pennsylvania Lives." Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. 218 pp.; $2.25.

THE BEST resumé of the book *Johann Conrad Beissel* is found in the first paragraph on page 108 of the chapter entitled "Wisdom's Household." It reads as follows: "A narrative of Conrad Beissel's life, however sparkling in some passages and fantastic or curious in others, soon becomes a bald catalogue of the Vorsteher's feuds, notwithstanding the author's unflagging efforts to inject a modicum of charm into his account. In the end, both biographer and reader are obliged to accept the ineluctable fact that there is not much else to recount. Intellectually, Beissel was largely an echo. Spiritually, he bears the impress of Pietism and presents nothing startlingly distinctive. His temperament is the only interesting and original thing about him, and it is the temperament of an unbending, untiring fanatic. It derives its power from the concentration that is possible only for a circumscribed mentality. If we could watch experience blunting his jagged edges and infusing a pastoral compassion, if not a warmth of fellow-feeling, into his frozen soul, this repulsive monotony would be mitigated in some degree. At times a superficial graciousness and affability masked the obsession that dominated his life, but when we undo the wrappings we find nothing but a blade of cold flint, which pierced not only those who matched their strength with his, but also the friends who embraced him. Strife was his sustenance. The ecstasy of combat was his animating principle. He lived for the tension of struggle. His successes were personal triumphs, and his failures humiliated him deeply because in every dispute or wrangle it was his self-love that was most at stake."

This quotation portrays the author's appraisals of Conrad Beissel's life, his personal criticisms and opinions. This is also borne out by the first sentence of the biographical note in the appendix, which reads: "The complete truth about Beissel has been preserved in the mind of God, and one would look in vain for it in any other place; the feeble faculties of a mere biographer cannot hope to recover it."

To some Quakers it will seem unfortunate that the founders of Germantown should be spoken of as Dutch Quakers, as the nationality of those early settlers is still a moot question. There seems little basis also for the definite implication that Beissel drew upon the Catholic church for his ideas of monasticism, and upon the Jewish religion for the idea of the seventh day of the week as the sabbath. This does not seem to be in keeping with the spirit of the Pietists, who dared to think for themselves.

The author has painstakingly consulted every known source of information and from the literary standpoint has done a magnificent piece of work. The result, however, is adequately described in the above quotations.

WILBUR K. THOMAS.
Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation

The Works of Gerrard Winstanley: with an Appendix of Documents Relating to the Digger Movement. Edited with an Introduction by George H. Sabine. Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1941. 686 pp.; $5.00.

THE COMMONWEALTH period in England was an extraordinarily creative moment in the religious and social history of the world. Out of the same ferment which produced George Fox and the Society of Friends came Gerrard Winstanley and the group of religious communists known as Diggers. The quaint picture of the half dozen poor men who on the first day of April, 1649, appeared on the common land at St. George's Hill in Surrey and began digging the ground, preparing to sow it with parsnips, carrots, and beans, because the earth was intended by God to be a "common treasury" for all mankind, is a familiar one to students of seventeenth-century England. It was at almost this precise moment that George Fox in Nottinghamshire was beginning to preach the gospel of the Inward Light. There is more than a mere temporal relationship between George Fox and Gerrard Winstanley, between the early Quakers and the short-lived Diggers; there was a close parallelism and a genuine kinship in spirit between them. Rufus Jones has said of Winstanley that "he was the most like Fox in type of mind and bent of nature of all of the great Quaker's contemporaries."

Winstanley's works in their original editions are excessively rare and may be found in only a few American libraries. Professor George H. Sabine of Cornell University has done well to make them more generally available in this massive and beautifully printed volume. He has placed

students further in his debt by his informative, suggestive, and scholarly introduction of seventy pages. This essay will undoubtedly become the standard authority on Winstanley and his followers, replacing L. H. Berens's *The Digger Movement* (1906), which up to now has been the only extended treatment of the subject, but which is vitiated by its author's insistence upon regarding Winstanley as the precursor of Henry George and his Single Tax program. Professor Sabine keeps Winstanley in his historical context and by throwing light upon his relationship to his period illuminates a most interesting corner of the history of social and religious thought. Since biographical facts about Winstanley are scanty, the account of the influences which shaped his thinking is largely inferential, but so thorough is Professor Sabine's knowledge of the seventeenth-century background in political and social (and to a lesser degree religious) thought that one can accept his inferences without cavil. One regrets, however, that in his capacity as editor he felt obliged to omit Winstanley's first three purely religious pamphlets "partly to save space and partly because less interest attaches to books written before Winstanley's discovery of communism" (Preface). He includes fairly adequate abstracts of these three pamphlets *(The Mysterie of God Concerning the Whole Creation, Mankinde; The Breaking of the Day of God;* and *The Saints Paradice),* but there are many readers who would appreciate having the full texts. *The Saints Paradice* in particular is of basic importance as an expression of Winstanley's mysticism.

The Inner Light was central with Winstanley as it was with George Fox. Like Fox he regarded salvation not as something externally enacted but as the turning of the soul to Christ within: "Jesus Christ at a distance from thee will never save thee; but a Christ Within is thy Saviour" (*Truth Lifting Up Its Head,* p. 113). From this master doctrine Winstanley and the Diggers derived many of the same corollaries that Fox and the early Friends drew from it: the impatience with theological "notions and speculations," the distrust of a "hireling priesthood," the testimony against "hat-honor," and the renunciation of violence. When we find Winstanley calling the Bible merely "the declaration of the Spirit" that was in the Apostles, and saying that "it is the Spirit within every man that tries all things" (*ibid.,* p. 101), we are reminded of Barclay who said that the Scriptures were "only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself," and of Fox who in the very year in which Winstanley was writing (1649) told a priest at Nottingham that it was not the Scriptures but "the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried." These parallels do not indicate indebtedness of any kind, nor can it be proved, as some have tried to prove, that Winstanley ever became a Quaker. The reading of Winstanley serves to remind us that Fox and the primitive Friends were only one manifestation of a widespread mystical "climate" in seventeenth-century England.

Winstanley went beyond the religious radicalism of the early Friends to social radicalism. To him and to his followers the inescapable inference from the equality of all men before God was complete equality of men in their social relations. The communistic implications in the sectarian and mystical traditions were kept in the background by the early Friends; they only appear indistinctly in the provisions for the common care of poorer members and more definitely in the proposals of John Bellers. But with Winstanley they came into the foreground, and with the Diggers who embraced his theories as a program for action they were actually put into practice. Winstanley's communism came to him in a mystical trance; he heard a voice saying, "Worke together. Eat bread together," and further: "Whosoever it is that labours in the earth, for any person or persons, that lifts up themselves as Lords & Rulers over others, and that doth not look upon themselves equal to others in the Creation, The hand of the Lord shall be upon that labourer: I the Lord have spoken it and I will do it; Declare this all abroad" (*The New Law of Righteousness,* p. 190). In his longest work, *The Law of Freedom* (1652), written after the Diggers' experiment in communal agriculture had been broken up, he offered a theoretical prospectus of his communist commonwealth. Winstanley's actual influence upon later political theorists has been slight and the effects of the Digger episode upon the English social system were nugatory. But no one who wishes fully to understand the background of religious and social thinking out of which the Society of Friends emerged should overlook the works of Gerrard Winstanley.

FREDERICK B. TOLLES.

Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College

The reviewer of Carl Van Doren's *Secret History of the American Revolution* in the last issue of the BULLETIN, in commenting on the part played by Quakers in the Revolution, overlooked the case of Samuel Wallis, who though a Quaker served as a Captain of militia, and, being disgusted with the inefficient conduct of the war against the Indians, turned his sympathies to the loyalist side. His secret assistance to Lord Howe and Arnold is recorded at length. He escaped suspicion when Arnold's treason was discovered and lived as a farmer and trader in land till 1798, when he died of smallpox.

A QUOTATION of a legal notice from the *London Gazette,* which gives some further information about one of the Quaker signers of the Declaration of Independence, is republished in the *American Genealogist* xix (1942), p. 65. It shows that Button Gwinnett was formerly a grocer of Wolverhampton and that his wife Ann Bourn died in 1781, his daughter Elizabeth Belin in 1784.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

THE *Daily Standard* of Red Bank, N. J., and other local papers, published in December, 1941, some account of the history of the house built at Middletown, N. J., in 1670 by Richard Hartshorne, the Quaker, who entertained both George Fox (see his Journal) and William Penn in it. The eight-room house has many authentic and interesting early architectural features, which it is said the new owners, Mr. and Mrs. Edward A. Early, will retain in renovating it.

AMONG the documents lately published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is a letter from William Penn to Peter the Great in 1698 with an account of its history since 1833, when it was presented to the Historical Society by Granville Penn. See vol. 66 (1942), pp. 94-99.

A STUDY of "William Penn, with Special Reference to Montgomery County," is published in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County,* Pennsylvania, ii (1939-41), pp. 220-228, contributed by George N. Highley.

THE STORY of colonial American Quakerism is not easily condensed into two dozen pages. This, however, is done by W. W. Sweet in his *Religion in Colonial America* (Scribner, 1942), pp. 142-66. The account is based on secondary sources and is marred in this first edition by misspellings like Upshaw for Upshall and Browne for Bowne, by the term "*the* Barbados," and by errors in the year and the month of various dates (the latter due to failure to count March the first month).

"TWO Long Island Landscapes by Thomas Hicks" is the title of an illustrated article by Jesse Merritt in *American Collector,* xi (June, 1942), pp. 15, 23. The pictures were painted in 1853 by Thomas Hicks (1823-1890), better known for his portraits, and they are summer and winter views respectively of the Friend's Meeting House at Westbury, Long Island. The artist was not a Friend, as was his cousin the artist Edward Hicks.

IN *Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography,* 66 (1942), pp. 84-93, George Haines IV has written on "Trends in Quakerism: 1900-1940."

REFERENCE was made in this Bulletin to the unveiling of a tablet to George Fox at Council Rock, Oyster Bay, Long Island, because Fox preached there to the natives. The brief address made by Mary K. Peters on that occasion will be found printed in *Nassau County Historical Journal,* v (1942), p. 26f.

SOURCES of the Quaker Peace Testimony is a 46-page pamphlet by Howard H. Brinton, the most recent of the Pendle Hill Historical Studies.

SEVENTY-FIVE Years of Brooklyn Friends School is the title of an illustrated bound pamphlet, written by Edgerton Grant North, and issued without imprint in 1942.

A MODEST but competent address by State Historian Arthur Pound, on "The Influence of Long Island Quakerism on Up-State New York," was published in the *Nassau County Historical Journal,* vol. 4 (1941), pp. 45-50. It deals especially with Quaker Hill, Dutchess County, and some of the meetings proliferated from it. Quaker Hill was once considered as a site for the State capitol. Three other places in the State include "Quaker" in their name.

IN CONNECTION with the tercentenary of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, Robert Leach prepared an account of visitors to the Island, especially John [*sic!*] Bownas, Benjamin Holme, and Peter Yarnall. The paper, entitled "Quaker Intruders in Martha's Vineyard," was printed in the *Vineyard Gazette,* vol. 97, No. 13 A, Edgartown, August 4, 1942.

"THE Animadversions of Bishop Bossuet upon the Quakers and the Quietists," is the title of a carefully documented article by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert and the late Russell Pope in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* 57 (1942), pp. 105-115.

A HANDSOME limited-edition little book that might have been mentioned earlier here is *Essays on Whitman and the West Hills Country* by Jean and Jesse Merritt (Farmingdale, N. Y., 1940, 30 pp.), with one essay definitely on "Walt's Quakerism."

IN THE *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D. C., vol. 40-41 (1940), pp. 33-51, is an article by William E. Richardson, on "The Quaker Meeting House on 'I' Street and its Historical Background" (with a picture of the house). It traces Quakerism in Maryland back to 1655 by instances in the official colonial records of refusal to swear, and it shows from the minute books how Maryland Friends established a meeting in the Capital in April, 1803, less than two and a half years after the District of Columbia became officially the seat of government.

THE STORY of a Quaker community founded in 1852 in Woodland, Sauk County, Wisconsin, known as Quaker Valley or Friendswood, and the migration thence to help found Whittier, California, is the subject of an article by Belle Cushman Bohn in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* 24 (1940-41), pp. 437-445. The article is entitled "Rainbow in the West."

PUBLISHED by the Friends Foreign Missionary Society of Ohio Yearly Meeting (Damascus, Ohio) in 1940 and written by Walter Rollin Williams, *These Fifty Years* is a full account of the Friends' Mission planted in China in 1890, based on records and firsthand knowledge. The book is well illustrated and pays considerable attention to the background of Chinese history.

AN ARTICLE on "Sources and Themes of Hawthorne's 'The Gentle Boy'" by G. Harrison Orians (*New England Quarterly,* 14 (1941), pp. 664-78) discusses how far details in the histories of Quaker persecution in New England—both those by Friends and those by others—have been used and fused, and how far the novelist employed his imagination and favorite motifs found in his later works.

IN THE *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 96 (1942), 8-19, is published an account of "Richard Scott of Providence, Rhode Island, and the Main Line of his Descendants." Richard Scott (1605-1680) and his wife Katherine (sister of Anne Hutchinson) were Friends, as were his daughters Mary, who married Christopher Holder, Hannah, who married Governor Walter Clarke, and Patience, who suffered in Boston as a Quaker in 1659. John Scott (1664-1724), a grandson, "was apparently the last Quaker in this main Scott line."

THE *Journal* of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society, vol. 9, has two brief Quaker articles contributed by Henry J. Cadbury. In November 1941 there was printed a preliminary list of "Barbados Quakers —1683-1761," derived from the signatures of certificates sent by Friends on the island to Philadelphia and there preserved. In February 1942 an account of a visit paid to the island just two hundred years before by John Smith of Burlington as printed from a MS in his youthful handwriting preserved at the Library Company of Philadelphia. A similar account appears in the Appendix to *Hannah Logan's Courtship.*

IN the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 65 (1941), 145-156, Hildegard Binder-Johnson deals freshly with the "Germantown Protest of 1688 against Slavery," connecting it with the special German objections earlier in Europe and later in Pennsylvania, and emphasizing other features of the now famous document.

ADA HARRIET BALDWIN under the title "His Mother's Kindred" deals with the Folger family in four instalments in *Americana* 35 (1941), 7-33, 276-318, 497-551, 673-735. The narrative carries the story from Norwich, England, to Watertown, Massachusetts, to Rhode Island, to Martha's Vineyard, to Nantucket. It adds brief notices of later Quaker descendants of note—Elihu Coleman, Maria Mitchell, Lucretia Mott. It overlaps and supplements the book on Peter Folger mentioned in this BULLETIN, vol. 30 (1941), p. 47.

OF THE local histories of Friends in Massachusetts, one of the best written is that for Dartmouth Monthly Meeting published by the Old Dartmouth Historical Society (No. 70 in the series of sketches of New Bedford's Early History). It was written by Ann Gidley Lowry and read at the Society's meeting, August 14, 1940. The title is "Quakers and their Meeting House at Apponegansett."

ONE of the best-chosen private libraries of Americana in recent years was that of the late Matt B. Jones of Newton, Massachusetts, and its Quakeriana, though select and few, were noteworthy. The Library was picked over first by Harvard; then by the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the remainder, offered for sale by Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, were several Quaker items valued at $350, $300, $250, $125, $60 and $50 respectively (Catalogues 345 and 347). A fine copy of an anti-Quaker item was priced at $1000. Jones had studied and published on the Salem Quaker, Thomas Maule. His collection of Maule books and photostats went to Harvard.

FURTHER popular articles on recent relief work of Friends (see above, page 45) include "Friends at Work" by Arthur Pound, *Current History* 51 (1940), pp. 37-40; "Quaker Relief in France" by Kate Vernon, *Commonweal* (a Catholic weekly) for December 5, 1941 (vol. 35, pp. 163-165); "A Great Experiment" by Rufus M. Jones, *Survey Graphic* 31 (1942), pp. 354-355.

THE *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 66 (1942), pp. 294-313, contains an article on the Quaker boycott of slave products entitled "The Philadelphia Free Produce Attack upon Slavery." It is largely based upon the letter book (1847-1864) of George W. Taylor, the agent of the Philadelphia Free Produce Association of Friends.

THE *Star-Democrat of Easton,* Talbot County, Maryland, published on April 17, 1942, the information that the brick house built about 1676 on the nearby Woodstock farm by Wenlock Christison had fallen down. Christison, it will be recalled, suffered persecution as a Quaker in Massachusetts, before he came to Maryland. Minutes in the latter colony mention men's meetings held at his home as early as 1667.

IN THE *Filson Club History Quarterly* xvi (1942), pp. 141-171, Willard R. Jillson publishes a sketch of the life of Squire Boone (1744-1815), a Kentucky pioneer, with a very full bibliography. Like his older brother Daniel Boone he was of Quaker origin. He became a Revolutionary soldier and an occasional Calvinistic Baptist.

YORKSHIRE Quaker history in its early phases is briefly sketched by Ernest E. Taylor in "The Quaker Movement in the Northern Dales," in *The Yorkshire Dalesman,* iv (June, 1942), pp. 48-54.

JULIAN P. BOYD has brought to light the career of an extraordinarily versatile and energetic if also eccentric and unfortunate American Quaker in a long article on "Horatio Gates Spafford, Inventor, Author, Promotor of Democracy," in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for 1941, vol. 51, pp. 279-350. Spafford was born at Dorset, Vt., in 1778. He became a Friend about 1800, though little is reported of his Quaker connections. His writings and other noteworthy ventures fall in the period 1809 to 1825. They include an inclusive textbook of geography, two important descriptive works on the State of New York, and the discovery long before Bessemer of the process connected with that name for the manufacture of iron and steel. He died in 1832.

MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD has published from family archives some letters between John or Elizabeth Whittier and their cousins the Cartlands, written in the period 1830-1868. The article, which is entitled "Whittier and Some Cousins," appears in the recent issue of the *New England Quarterly* xv (1942), pp. 467-496.

APROPOS the birth in 1742 of General Nathanael Greene, *Rhode Island History,* i (1942), pp. 109-125, publishes the order of exercises at a celebration of the 200th Anniversary held in Providence, August 7, and two papers from it, one on his youth by U. S. Senator Theodore Francis Green, the other on his contributions to the War of American Independence by William Greene Roelker.

PLACE Names in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, by George MacReynolds (Doylestown, 1942, pp. 474) gives in spite of its title a considerable amount of local history for each place, including many which had a Quaker settlement, meeting, or school.

ANTHONY BENEZET AND THE ACADIANS

FOLLOWING is a reprint, brought to our attention by Francis R. Taylor, of a nearly contemporary British comment on Anthony Benezet (1713-84) and his activity on behalf of the expatriated Acadians. The original was printed in the London *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (commonly called *Gentleman's Magazine*), vol. 62 (1792), part 2, page 705, being one of a considerable collection of letters, on various subjects and by various authors, addressed to the editor, Mr. Sylvanus Urban. This letter is signed by a J. P. Malcolm, about whom no information is supplied.

MR. URBAN, June 13.

Some time since I read extracts from a work lately published by M. Brissot de Warville, intituled, "Travels through the United States of

America." Those extracts occasion this trouble. They relate to the emancipation, treatment, &c. of Negro-slaves in Pennsylvania. Among the foremost advocates for the Africans, Anthony Benezet is particularly noticed; and what Mr. Warville says of him, as far as he goes, is very true. Few people, I believe, in the contracted sphere he moved, endeavoured more to render good. In the late French war, when political motives induced the removal of a number of inhabitants from Acadia to the different provinces, without any kind of provision, they were set on shore at Philadelphia, totally destitute. The miserable wretches remained on the wharfs, not knowing whither to go, the inhabitants at a loss how to act, as (though individually innocent) they were considered as enemies. In this forlorn situation Mr. Benezet found them: he could converse with them in their own language; he saw their misery, pitied, and immediately began to think of some method by which he might relieve them. I believe he prevailed on some of his charitable friends to shelter them till he could apply to Government, which he did. Much was promised, but nothing done. In this state of things, little remained but for himself to take effectual measures. Accordingly, he purchased ground, and began to erect such temporary buildings as the urgency of the occasion would permit. The result was, that, in a very short time, a little village arose, peopled by strangers, whose existence was not known till fortune threw them here. The Neutrals, as they were and are still called, proved an industrious, quiet colony, which encouraged the citizens to employ them in many ways, and they have produced some very respectable characters. They are now, as it were, naturalized. Mr. Benezet, in this truly benevolent undertaking, procured much honour and considerable loss, as he expended about seven hundred pounds, not a farthing of which was ever refunded him. His unbounded generosity forbade his taking any advantage of the afterwards flourishing situation of his colony. In Mr. Benezet's earlier days, the education of females was much neglected in Philadelphia. This suggested the highly praise-worthy idea of his undertaking a school for girls only. Thus did this excellent man submit to the degrading situation of a schoolmaster; subject himself to the misrepresentations of wayward children, and the consequent reproaches of misguided parents. All these he submitted to for the sole purpose of rescuing the female sex from the trammels of ignorance. As he had a sufficient income, he nobly gave all his earnings from the school to the poor. I would not wish to be understood, in saying the degrading station of a schoolmaster, that the employment is in itself so. On the contrary, the man who is capable of affording instruction to youth deserves every attention and respect. The degradation I mean is in his own feelings, always exposed to the petulance of unruly children. It would be endless to enumerate the charities of this worthy man.

J. P. Malcolm.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"Early Quaker Education of Children," by Walter J. Homan, stresses the religious element which predominated in the early period, as well as the puritan morality of the times.—March 19, 1942, pp. 333-335.

"David Lloyd, Penn's Great Lawmaker," by Burton Alva Konkle, is an essay in praise of the part Lloyd played in framing colonial Pennsylvania's constitution and laws.—March 19, 1942, pp. 350-351.

"Quaker Research," an address by Rufus M. Jones delivered at the dedication of the new Treasure Room to house the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library, is a brief review of the various types of literature available for research in the Quaker field at Haverford.—May 28, 1942, pp. 435-437.

"The William Scarnall Lean Letters," contributed by J. Henry Bartlett, include three letters, 1899-1907, recording the spiritual progress of a distinguished English Friend from Quakerism to Anglicanism and back again.—June 25, 1942, pp. 473-475.

Friends Intelligencer

"Conference Reminiscences, Wise and Otherwise," by Jane P. Rushmore, is a series of articles on the conferences which were forerunners of the Cape May meetings of Friends General Conference.—February 21, 1942, p. 121; February 28, pp. 135-136; March 7, p. 151; March 14, p. 166; March 21, pp. 182-183.

The cataloging of the manuscripts in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College has brought to light some important records on "Quaker-Indian Relations" in the nineteenth century. Frederick B. Tolles, Librarian, discusses these in two articles.—March 14, pp. 168-169, and May 2, 1942, p. 286.

"Jesse Herman Holmes" is the title of an appreciation by Brand Blanshard, his colleague on the Swarthmore College faculty, and of several briefer items.—June 6, 1942, pp. 368-70.

A "Statement of Policy" of the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College appeared in the *Friends Intelligencer* of June 27, 1942, p. 412. It was reprinted in *The Friend* (Phila.), August 6, 1942, pp. 42-43, in an article by Thomas E. Drake, "The Quaker Libraries at Haverford and Swarthmore," showing how these two Friends' reference libraries supplement each other, and describing the special policy features

of Haverford's Quaker Collection which differ from those of Swarthmore. The portions of this article relating to Haverford were reprinted in *Friends Intelligencer,* August 29, 1942, pp. 560-561.

"Cecil Friends Meeting Commemoration" records the dedication ceremonies on October 11, 1942, in connection with the placing of a plaque on the site of the Cecil meeting house in Kent County, Maryland, near Lynch. Friends worshiped there from 1696 to 1900.—October 31, 1942, p. 707.

"Now and Then" (Henry J. Cadbury) is continuing his "Letters from the Past," linking up present events with earlier episodes in Quaker history. They run as follows: 15, *Atlantic Raiders* (November 29, 1941, pp. 768-769) recalls the capture of early sea-going Friends by Barbary pirates; 16, *Hindsight, Insight, Foresight* (December 20, 1941, pp. 814-815) discusses the difficulty of pacifists as well as others in knowing whether a given war is right or wrong, and the wisdom of standing on basic pacifist principles until the facts are known; 17, *George Fox After 250 Years* (January 3, 1942, p. 7) calls for a further analysis of Fox's leadership in Quakerism; 18, *A Quaker M. P. on the War* (January 17, 1942, pp. 36-37) praises Dr. Alfred Salter's antiwar speech in Parliament of November 25, 1941; 19, *Opposing a War in Wartime* (February 7, 1942, p. 87) recalls John Bright's open opposition to the Crimean War; 20, *Kind Offices for New Settlers* (September 19, 1942, pp. 607-608) mentions various Quaker assistances in resettling refugees; 21, *Putting Quakerism on the Map* (October 10, 1942, p. 652) describes a map of Barbados, 1680, by Richard Ford, Surveyor, which showed the five Friends' meeting houses, but failed to show forts and "churches"; 22, *Quaker as Place Name* (October 31, 1942, pp. 701-702) lists "Quaker" names in various countries where Friends have flourished.

The American Friend

Salem, Oregon, Quarterly Meeting celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on November 15, 1941.—December 4, 1941, p. 527.

The two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of Westport, Massachusetts, Monthly Meeting was held on December 14, 1941.—January 15, 1942, p. 36.

"An Early Quaker Annal in Florida," by Vernon L. Brown, records the fact that the first monthly meeting in the State was at Archer (1884-1898), affiliated with Whitewater, Indiana, Quarterly Meeting.—February 26, 1942, p. 96.

"Testimony to the life of Walter C. Woodward by His Friends," is the subject of the issue of May 7, 1942, dedicated to the memory of Walter C. Woodward (1878-1942), who was editor of *The American Friend* and secretary of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America.

Friends' Quarterly Examiner

No. 301. January 1942.—"In Memoriam: Henry Marriage Wallis (1854-1941)," contains two memoirs of the independent Quaker who, among other things, wrote the novels by "Ashton Hilliers" (p. 1-11). Continued in No. 302, April, 1942, pp. 150-160.

No. 302. April, 1942.—"The Quaker Poet of Freedom and Light," is an appreciation of Whittier's poetry for times of stress.

No. 303. July, 1942.—Two memorial sketches, "John A. Hughes; A Modern Prophet, 1876-1942," by Amy E. Wallis (pp. 173-175), and "Maria Rowntree Ellis [1845-1941]," by Alice Robson (pp. 207-215) are interesting in describing the varied and consecrated lives of these two English Friends.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

Volume 36, for 1939.—Two presidential addresses, Elisabeth Brockbank, "The Story of Quakerism in the Lancaster District" (pp. 3-20), and Beatrice Saxon Snell, "The Making of Thomas Ellwood" (pp. 21-49) form the bulk of the issue. Henry J. Cadbury, "First Publishers of Truth in London" (pp. 52-58) prints a "lost" account of early London Friends by Gilbert Latey.

Volume 37, for 1940.—Extracts from the A. R. Barclay MSS, consisting of letters of early Friends, continue to be printed (pp. 3-21). The originals are now stored out of London for safety, but a microfilm copy is in the Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library.

"American Visitors in Ireland: Some Reminiscences, 1784-1852," by Isabel Grubb, contains annotated extracts from the diary of Mary Leadbeater, of Ballitore (1758-1826) and a manuscript of Deborah Martin, of Limerick (1824-1908). They include comments on the visits and preaching of Patience Brayton (1784), William Rotch (1791), Benjamin Rotch (1791), Samuel Emlen (1784), Job Scott (died in Ballitore, 1793), Thomas Scattergood (1795), David Bacon and Nicholas Waln (1795), Stephen Grellet (1811 and 1833), Nathan Hunt (1820), Huldah Sears (1820), Jonathan Taylor (no date given), Anna M. Thorne, Lindley Murray Hoag, George and Susan Howland, Thomas Arnett, and Eli and Sybil Jones (1852).

"Records from Nailsworth," by Ruth G. Burtt (pp. 31-37), contains extracts from the records of Nailsworth Meeting, in Gloucestershire, from 1670 to the turn of the century.

FRIENDS · HISTORICAL · ASSOCIATION
1873